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Author

Tanner, Laura C.

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What is Queer About Teenage Pregnancy? Race, Temporality and
(Un)Happiness in Milwaukee's Prevention Campaign 2006-2015

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Master of Arts
in Feminist Studies

by

Laura Christine Tanner

Committee in charge:

Professor Laury Oaks, Co-Chair

Professor Barbara Tomlinson, Co-Chair

Professor Glyn Salton-Cox

June 2015

The thesis of Laura Christine Tanner is approved.

Glyn Salton-Cox

Barbara Tomlinson, Committee Co-Chair

Laury Oaks, Committee Co-Chair

June 2015

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by

Laura Christine Tanner

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ABSTRACT

What is Queer About Teenage Pregnancy? Race, Temporality and (Un)Happiness in Milwaukee's Prevention Campaign 2006-2015

by

Laura Christine Tanner

This project analyzes teenage pregnancy prevention media campaigns sponsored by Milwaukee, Wisconsin from 2006-2015. Constructing teenage pregnancy as a serious social problem, the Milwaukee campaigns use raced, classed, heteronormative, violent rhetoric to abject teenage mothers and instruct the public in how to feel about them and their offspring: disgusted and angry. I argue that teenage pregnancy prevention campaigns constitute a form of biopower, which influences *all* teenage women to construct their sexual subjectivity and behavior in relation to what I call “the straight path” and the “path to happiness.” I demonstrate that teenage mothers are positioned as *queer* in their relation to power, through their engagement in sexual activity deemed unnatural, useless, and dangerous to society, and through their reproduction, which is decoupled from reproductive futurity and is positioned as (re)producing failed citizen subjects.

Teen pregnancy is now on Greater Milwaukee's front burner, and the flame is on high.

– Mary Lou Young, President & CEO, United Way of Greater Milwaukee¹

What is Queer About Teenage Pregnancy? Race, Temporality and (Un)Happiness in Milwaukee's Prevention Campaign 2006-2015

In January 2015, disturbing images began appearing on Milwaukee, Wisconsin, bus shelters. Each of these images depicted a children's toy, digitally altered to have the head of a human teenager, being wielded by an oversized toddler. The images were captioned with the text, "Have a baby too young and it'll control your life. BabyCanWait.Com."² Designed to demonstrate young parents' lack of control over their lives, these images – what I am calling the "head Turner" campaign – were the latest in a series of public service announcements (PSAs) distributed by the Teen Pregnancy Prevention Initiative. This initiative, convened by non-profit organization the United Way of Greater Milwaukee and Waukesha County, and led by an oversight committee of community partners, is a multi-year, multi-million dollar effort to reduce Milwaukee's teenage pregnancy rates.³ Described by leaders as bold and aggressive,⁴ the initiative's media campaigns are intended to portray teenage pregnancy as a serious "social problem,"⁵ and aim to "[change] the cultural conversation about birth and when is the appropriate time to become a parent."⁶ As will become clear, these media projects invalidate sexually active, pregnant and maternal teenage women, circulating affects of disgust and shame toward them. Using raced and classed imagery they frame teenage mothers as sexually deviant and socially dysfunctional. The rhetorics of these teenage pregnancy prevention campaigns are emblematic of the way teenage pregnancy, parenting, and parents are

portrayed throughout national discourses, and particularly in the teenage pregnancy prevention industry.

Since the early 1970s teenage pregnancy has received widespread attention and been the subject of an astonishing volume of condemnatory rhetoric in the U.S. Fostering panic over teenage pregnancy rates, this rhetoric encourages increasingly aggressive prevention campaigns even though rates of teenage pregnancy have been dropping steadily for decades and are the lowest they have been since the 1950s.⁷ Such rhetoric draws on an extensive body of scholarship, particularly in the fields of public health and policy, economics, and demography, to authorize representation of teenage pregnancy as a social pathology that carries costly and devastating consequences for teenaged women, their offspring, and which causes tremendous harm to the social body.⁸ Couched in the language of public health promotion and economics, this body of scholarship claims teenage sexuality and reproduction results in a number of social ills including persistent poverty, low educational attainment, poor child health, development, and educational development, single motherhood, and economic dependency.

However, a growing body of scholarship questions the accuracy of such claims and works to reveal the systems of power and privilege that underlie these readings of teenage motherhood. Scholars from a number of fields including public health, sociology, anthropology, women and gender studies, and psychology have contributed to this counter-narrative. Notable contributions connect the discursive development of teenage pregnancy as an ‘epidemic’ to racialized and sexualized social developments including interpellation of adolescence, conservative backlash against the women’s movement and changing sexual mores, white anxiety over civil rights, and neoliberal targeting of social

welfare.⁹ Expanding on critical perspectives, scholars have questioned the purported negative effects of teenage pregnancy and motherhood on young women's life trajectories, pointing out the benefit of early rather than late childbearing for teenagers of low socio-economic status. Additionally, they have re-framed teenage women as potentially caring and capable mothers, making visible their heterogeneous and nuanced life stories and challenging the stigma and public shaming of teenage parents.¹⁰

Some scholars have examined the workings of power within prevention discourses and their role in producing docile bodies. For instance, feminist public health scholar Christie Barcelos argues that "health promotion work on this issue [teenage pregnancy] does much more than attempt to prevent pregnancies: it demarcates (in)appropriate reproductive bodies, consolidates heterosexual power, produces ever-expanding at-risk populations, and calls on individuals and populations to work on their bodies in very specific ways."¹¹ Thus, counter-narratives to dominant readings of teenage pregnancy reveal the teenage pregnancy prevention industry as a biopolitical system of governmentality aimed at stabilizing dominant social hierarchy.

Grounding my work in this production of counter knowledge, I contribute an analysis of teenage pregnancy prevention discourses at the level of sexual subjectivity, one that positions such discourses as actively heteronormative in their purpose. Authors have noted the heteronormative nature of these discourses in that they make invisible the presence of queer youth and teenagers' non-heterosexual sexual behavior and identifications.¹² Scholars have also examined the neoliberal and neoconservative ideologies at work in prevention programs, which promote conservative gender roles and heteronormative sexual and kinship formations.¹³ I use a queer theoretical lens to position

pregnant and mothering teenagers as “queer” regardless of their sexual orientation or identity because of their outsider status in relationship to heteronormative power and their associations with multiple identities and embodiments already positioned as queer.

I argue that the proliferation of discourses condemning teenage childbearing interpellates the teenage mother as an especially stigmatized identity, and simultaneously interpellates and disciplines the sexual subjectivity of all non-maternal teenage women through the threat of teenage pregnancy and its social consequences. Additionally, I evaluate these discourses as primarily deployed in a biopolitical project of heteronormalization engaged in protecting the dominance of what Shannon Winnubst calls “phallicized whiteness.”¹⁴ My interest is, therefore in the *cultural work* done by discourses about teenage pregnancy rather than the *validity* of their claims.¹⁵ I ask what systems of power they emerge from and stabilize, and what forms of resistance might be possible when examined from a queer theoretical perspective.

Challenging dominant constructions of teenage pregnancy is vital to efforts that ameliorate the stream of shame and disgust targeted against pregnant and mothering teenagers. However, critical scholars often maintains the premise that rates of teenage pregnancy *should* be reduced, if not eliminated, a stance that limits its radical potential. Additionally, this perspective often accepts the terms of the conversation as based in a ‘neutral’ heteronormative space: reproduction. Thus, this scholarship functions to discursively rehabilitate teenage mothers by validating their worth within heteronormative relationships and behaviors – particularly through their ability to be ‘good mothers’ and ‘good citizens’ if given social support. I approach my analysis from the radical position that teenage pregnancy should *not necessarily be eradicated*.

Furthermore, I imagine forms of resistance and defense that do not accept the terms of heteronormativity and which recognize the interconnectedness of teenage pregnancy discourses with those of race, class, ability, sexuality, and gender.

I analyze the teenage pregnancy prevention rhetoric produced in Milwaukee, Wisconsin between 2006 and 2015. In 2006 the United Way of Greater Milwaukee published “If Truth Be Told,” a report on the state of teenage pregnancy prevention in Milwaukee.¹⁶ In response to this report and its recommendations, a teenage pregnancy prevention initiative was created, guided by an oversight committee of community partners, including local government, public health, media, business, charity organizations, public education, non-profit and faith-based organizations. Milwaukee is the largest city in Wisconsin, located on the western shore of Lake Michigan. Subsequent to a history of mid-twentieth century Black migration from the south and subsequent ‘white flight,’ the city has continued to maintain a high Black population that is intensely segregated to northern and inner city areas.¹⁷ In a population of just under .6 million, the 2010 census reported 40% racially identify as Black, 17% as Latino, and 44.8% as white.¹⁸ Additionally, 27.1% of residents are under age 18, with 43% of them living in poverty.¹⁹ Due to systemic inequalities in educational spending, housing, employment, and incarceration rates, it has been described as one of the worst cities in the U.S. for Black residents.²⁰

The Milwaukee initiative is an excellent case study because it strongly mirrors national themes and trends around teenage childbearing discourse, and it has been a leader in evolving approaches toward prevention that have been hailed as ‘innovative’ and a model for the nation.²¹ The initiative has focused on a multimodal media campaign

that has utilized not only print PSA advertisements on billboards, buses, bus stops, and in schools, but has also employed interactive media on the Internet, downloadable audio files, recorded phone messages, radio spots, and paper mailings, among other tactics. My analysis is largely concerned with representation; thus, I also focus on these end-user-oriented media objects.²² I contextualize my analysis with documents produced by and about the initiative, public interviews with initiative leaders, blogs maintained by commercial partners, journalism, and scholarship that has both directed and reported on the campaign. Leaders of the initiative praise their work as unprecedented community collaboration with a bold and achievable goal.²³ I reveal the media campaigns as raced, classed, homo and trans phobic, neoliberal acts of violence against teenagers (both pregnant and non-pregnant) and their communities.

Inventing The Teenage Mother

Central to my analysis is an understanding of identity as discursively mapped onto embodied subjectivity. According to Michel Foucault, through the proliferation of discourse, men who performed actions now understood as homosexual came to be identified as a 'species' defined solely through the lens of their 'aberrant' sexual desires and behaviors.²⁴ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick argues that interpellation of the heterosexual as a species was likewise and simultaneously accomplished. She argues that through the violent othering of, and the rush to catalog, explain, and delimit the *homosexual*, the *heterosexual* (requiring constant protection and stabilization) was created.²⁵ A similar process can be traced in the discursive interpellation of teenage motherhood as an identity rather than a life circumstance. An abundance of truth claims produced by social institutions including government and non-governmental organizations, research, and the

media, situate the teenage mother as aberrant, and in so doing, define the hegemonic yet constantly threatened identity of the normative non-mothering teenage woman as well.²⁶

Becoming a wife and mother as a teenager has a long history in many societies including the United States. Delay of motherhood into the later twenties, thirties and, increasingly, forties is a peculiarly modern trend developed over the past century. Stigma associated with young motherhood historically arose from the visible betrayal of illicit sexual behavior – extramarital sex and illegitimate reproduction²⁷ – rather than pathology specific to the age of the mother. In the early twentieth century, unwed teenage pregnancy for white women was often resolved, depending on social class, by a quick marriage or a quiet adoption. Both actions brought the teenager back into proper heteronormative situations, even when resulting in lasting stigma or trauma. Unwed teenage pregnancy for women of color was more likely to result in motherhood with the new child absorbed into the extended family of origin.²⁸

During the 1960s to the 1980s, unmarried white teenage women began to keep and raise their children on their own more often, making teenage pregnancy more visible and, apparently, a threat to dominant heteronormative and patriarchal kinship and economic formations. Additionally, Black women and other women of color attained previously denied social welfare benefits such as cash welfare, public housing and food stamps. Such access made the reproduction of these women of color more of a threat to the dominant social order.²⁹ Also occurring was a growing women's movement, changing sexual mores and encouraging new access to contraception and abortion services. Bringing "family planning" under the aegis of the medical institution and public health added a new layer to social understandings of pregnancy: it began to be thought of as

something women, especially certain women, had a responsibility to control for the good of themselves and society. Finally, during this time rights and recognition based organizing by gays, lesbians, and gender-nonconforming people entered the national spotlight.

Contextualizing changing behaviors for pregnant teenagers within these social movements and cultural shifts is important to understanding why teenage motherhood came to be interpellated as an identity primarily understood through the prism of age, rather than a behavior morally understood in terms of promiscuity and illegitimacy. I do not mean to imply that stigmas of promiscuity and illegitimacy are no longer directed at pregnant teenagers. Rather, I am imagining the body of the teenage mother as a palimpsest on which the traces of raced, classed, religious, sexual and colonialist systems of oppression are mapped over with a new identity based on temporal rupture.

Queer of color critique argues that racist practice articulates itself generally as gender and sexual regulation, and that gender and sexual differences variegate racial formations.”³⁰ In *Aberrations in Black*, Roderick Ferguson investigates “how intersecting racial, gender, and sexual practices antagonize and/or conspire with the normative investments of nation-states and capital.”³¹ Such intersectional crossover between systems of oppression is very important to understanding the figure of the teenage mother. If we think of the interpellation of the teenage mother as a response to twentieth century social justice movements, we can see in her identity the crisscrossing tracks of moral panics generated by the anxiety and pushback “phallicized whiteness” to these movements.

In *Queering Freedom*, Winnubst describes “phallicized whiteness” as a combination of racial and sexual dynamics with the classic liberal individual and capital. She positions whiteness as a master signifier around which other signifiers orient, one that operates similarly to Lacan’s phallus: it maintains its power by being covered or hidden. Phallicized whiteness, then, refers to the way whiteness operates in a self-created space of neutrality; it “naturalizes and universalizes its structural advantage through remaining unmarked and unnamed as a specific, historical set of cultural practices and discourses.”³² In short, it is the system in which the white, propertied, able-bodied, heterosexual, Christian, cis-gendered male body dominates by holding an unmarked space of neutrality.³³ Winnubst’s concept is important here because it describes normative processes holding in tension the complementary, integrated, yet too often uncoupled forces of racialization, gendering, sexuality, and capital. For my purposes, phallicized whiteness sets the terms of normative social engagement, through what Ferguson refers to as the “normative ideals promoted by state and capital.”³⁴

The teenage mother is unique and important to current politics of dominance because she can be made to seem ‘other’ based on her temporality rather than her strongly associated identities of poor, sexual deviant, and/or of color. Using a public health framework to create the “problem” of teenage pregnancy as a social epidemic – specifically due to its temporality – prevention rhetoric can be operate as if it were “color-blind” (teen pregnancy can happen to all races), “class-blind” (teen mothers could be from all walks of life), “sexuality-blind” (reproduction is generally assumed to be heterosexual), when prevention rhetoric constructs racist, classist, and homophobic representations, and circulates these representations in affective economies of hate and

disgust. Thus temporality can be thought of as a way to target women for abjection based on race, class, and sexuality with “plausible deniability.” The process naturalizes dominant conceptions of time, making less visible how time is constituted by systems of race, class, and sexuality in the first place. The ostensibly “color-blind” aspect of teenage pregnancy prevention allows white, middle class young women to sometimes be used as the face of teenage pregnancy in order to generate white anxiety and justify preventive spending, even though such women are the least likely to get pregnant and become mothers if they do.³⁵ The use of white bodies in media campaigns also reinforces the perception that prevention rhetoric is “post-racial,” i.e., if campaigns include white bodies, they cannot be racist.

Although prevention efforts are often targeted at young women of color and whites of the working or poverty classes, the specter of teenage pregnancy operates to stabilize heteronormative life choices for all young women. In the same way that the heterosexual/homosexual binary is discursively constitutive rather than reflective of heterosexual power,³⁶ the pregnant/non-pregnant teen binary is constitutive of normative teenage women’s sexuality, desire, and reproduction. I argue teenage pregnancy prevention maintains this binary through the performance of prevention rhetoric – particularly through the circulation of disgust for the abject teenage mother.

Representations of a hetero/homo sexual binary have conflated heterosexual desire and behavior with normative and hegemonic power – representing all heterosexuals as monolithic in identity and universally privileged.³⁷ Yet, more than simply desire or choice of sexual partner, heterosexuality involves gender, kinship, and economic roles as well.³⁸ A more nuanced concept of heteronormativity reveals

heterosexuality as part and parcel of phallicized whiteness, in which race, class, ability, capital, and gender all modify normative sexual identity. This intersectional understanding suggests that some people who may act as and/or identify as heterosexual may be bared from heteronormative privilege.³⁹

In “Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens,” feminist scholar Cathy Cohen argues for an expanded understanding of “queer”: both queer as identity and queer as an analytical process. In this foundational article, Cohen defines “queer” primarily as *anti-normative*, opening up the possibility that some heterosexuals can be considered queer when their “sexual choices are not perceived as normal, moral, or worthy of state support.” Cohen argues for a “radical potential of queer politics ... [rooted in a] shared marginal relationship to dominant power which normalizes, legitimizes, and privileges.”⁴⁰ Using this definitional framework, there are sexual practices that, while potentially heterosexual, can be considered queer. However, such practices including Black motherhood, mothering while poor, and teenage pregnancy, are often read through a heteronormative frame, regardless of their nonnormative stigmatized social position. In *Rereading Heterosexuality*, Rachel Carroll argues:

The conventional conflation of heterosexuality with reproductive sexuality, and the close implication of reproductive sexuality in the construction of sexed, gendered and sexual identity for women, ensures that the figure of the non-normative female heterosexual occupies an especially complex and fraught position in relation to heteronormativity.⁴¹

I take up the fraught relationship of teenage pregnancy to heteronormativity in my analysis. I argue that the Milwaukee prevention initiative situates teenage mothers as queer by representing the “Teen Mom” as socially abject in relation to power and privilege. Regardless of identified sexual orientation, the sexually acting, pregnant, and

maternal teenager is positioned as queer in several ways. First, she is associated with aberrant racialized and classed identities that are always already positioned as queer. Second, she is sexually deviant, engaging in sexual behavior and reproduction out of sync with normative biopolitical timelines, before she is culturally 'ready.' Finally, she is a failed neoliberal citizen: dependent, failing to align herself with the promise of happiness by following the straight path into heteronormative gendered and sexual life trajectories, she is promised unhappiness and becomes figured as an unhappy object herself.

The Aberrant "Teen Mom": Gender, Sexuality, Racialization, and Punishment

Disciplining The Social Body Through Disgust And Shame

According to a logic model published by the United Way, the desired outcome of their multimedia campaigns to prevent teenage pregnancy is, "increased negative perception re: becoming pregnant, increased perception of teen pregnancy as a social problem affecting entire community, [and] increased youth self efficacy."⁴² Self-efficacy seems at first to be an anomaly in this list focused on fostering negative perception (e.g., disgust, anger) in and about teenage mothers. According to the logic model, increasing negative perception of teenage pregnancy and its consequences for both young women and their greater community will translate into reduced teenage pregnancy rates through an increase in youths' sense of control over their lives. However, it is unclear how targeting teenage women for sexual shame and disgust, as these campaigns do, might increase their feelings of control and confidence.

The inclusion of self-efficacy in this list becomes less anomalous when the Milwaukee campaigns are contextualized within the field of public health promotion. According to Deborah Lupton, contemporary frameworks of public health have brought

numerous social, rather than medical, issues under the umbrella of public health. This has resulted in a shifting of general perception of ill health coming from the bad luck of contagion to “ill-health as a product of society, in which illness is viewed as expressing the condition of a group as a social entity.”⁴³ Additionally, sexual behavior that was previously thought of as religiously immoral (deviant, perverse, non-heteronormative) is now targeted as immoral on health grounds – it being immoral to harm oneself or society through poor sexual decision-making. Thus, private sexual behavior that has a tangential relationship to health, like teenage pregnancy, becomes a matter of public concern due to its characterization as contributing to the ill health of the social body.⁴⁴ Teenagers who fail to pass as abstinent by avoiding pregnancy become evidence of an ‘epidemic’ of deviant sexual behavior.

According to public health scholar Deborah Lupton, health communication has adopted marketing techniques that rely on the elicitation of emotions including fear, shame, humiliation, and especially disgust to break through the assumed resistance of target audiences.⁴⁵ Discussing the pedagogy of disgust used in health communication, Lupton describes two types of “moral disgust” in ways that are useful here. First, Lupton argues that “liminality disgust” engenders physical and emotional feelings of disgust in response to “the transgression of indistinctness of cultural boundaries” because such transgressions “threaten the ordering of society.”⁴⁶ Second, she describes “disgust for matter out of place.” Using shoes on a dining room table as an example, Lupton explains that objects not typically considered disgusting in their expected use might become objects of disgust when they are viewed as being in the wrong place.

As I will demonstrate, teenage mothers are positioned as social deviants who emerge from and cause community dysfunction. As such they are prime targets for liminality disgust. Likewise, teenage mothers appear in the wrong place and time, making them “matter out of place” and generative of disgust.⁴⁷ Lupton’s concepts of liminality disgust and disgust for matter out of place help explain the media buzz generated by the content of the Milwaukee PSAs. The disgust the PSAs are intended to trigger is clearly apparent and remarked upon by media and individual respondents – some praising the campaigns as justifiably aggressive, and others criticizing the disgust and shame they generate as unethical.⁴⁸

Therefore, while the language of the logic model presents the expected outcome of increasing negative perception of teenage pregnancy in a positive light (for youths’ own good, resulting in self-efficacy, the barely veiled process behind the type of PSAs that the Milwaukee initiative distributes is that persistent, pervasive, and targeted stigmatization – particularly through shame and disgust – can be an effective tool of social control. It can help produce docile bodies. WE Douglas Creed and his colleagues describe the role of shame in institutional reproduction as a “shame nexus” that includes:

A person’s *sense of shame*, an internal mechanism of intersubjective surveillance and self-regulation; *systemic shame*, an intersubjective form of disciplinary power comprising shared understandings of the conditions that give rise to felt shame; and *episodic shaming*, a form of juridical power aimed at preventing or extinguishing transgressive enactments by inducing felt shame.⁴⁹

Milwaukee teenage pregnancy prevention PSAs interact with the shame nexus at every level. Contributing to systemic shame, they construct the terms of shameful sexuality for teenage women (“early” sexual behavior, pregnancy at the “wrong time”). Targeting

teenagers for public episodes of shame, they actively encouraging youths' sense of self-doubt or embarrassment.

Under a health communication rubric, catching the attention of teenagers with media messaging is hoped to result in sex avoidance and pregnancy avoidance. Moreover, the 'work' of teenage pregnancy prevention amounts to convincing teenagers to learn about sexuality, overcoming economic, cultural, and material barriers to gaining access to reproductive health care, contraception and abortion, and using contraception effectively during sexual behavior. Although there is much involved (and money to be claimed) in the apparatus of teenage pregnancy prevention, the outcome the campaign seeks (lower rates of pregnancy for teenage women) can only be effected through the individual behavior of teenagers who may or may not accept and act on the messages in the way the campaign intends. Perhaps it is this gap of uncertainty between communication and receipt that ostensibly justifies ever stronger, more manipulative, and shocking methods of communication.

I categorize the Milwaukee PSA campaigns according to their pedagogical approach and method of gaining viewers' attention. One type of PSA gains viewers' attention by displaying unusual or shocking imagery that represents teenage pregnancy as aberrant and disgusting. Ostensibly produced to convince teenagers to avoid pregnancy, it provides little information that might help teenagers to make informed decisions or learn how to control their fertility. What it does provide is manifest and latent content that educates viewer on how to feel about teenage pregnancy and mothers. Another type of PSA uses tricks and elaborate ruses to manipulate targeted viewers into viewing or listening to them. These PSAs masquerade as unrelated content that requires some kind

of interaction (e.g., downloading a file, calling a number, or opening a card) and are then sprung on unsuspecting participants. Also providing little to no information, these messages use a violent approach, representing the abjection of teenage mothers as fun and entertaining.

Establishing a Pedagogy of Disgust

Multiple Milwaukee PSAs associate the pregnant teenage body with aberration and monstrosity, positioning the teenage mother as queer in the minds of the general public. A notable example is what I call the Pregnant Boys campaign, distributed in 2007. In each version of this PSA, a young man is pictured shirtless, his Photoshop-enhanced abdomen swollen with obvious pregnancy.⁵⁰ Across the image large text reads: “It shouldn’t be any less disturbing when it’s a girl.” Below the image reads the paragraph:

Milwaukee has one of the highest teen birth rates in America and it’s a burden the rest of us end up carrying through higher taxes for healthcare, education, and other services teen mothers can’t afford. So get beyond disturbed. Get involved at onemilwaukee.org⁵¹

These PSAs rely on viewers’ already primed affective responses to gendered, racialized, and classed imagery to get their point across. In Milwaukee, as well as nationally, teenage mothers are associated with a number of social ills and non-normative behaviors including the perpetuation of poverty, neglectful or abusive mothering and, sexual deviancy.⁵² The Pregnant Boys PSAs accesses those associations and expand on them with an explicit linkage that creates the pregnant female teen body as inherently unnatural. Assuming an essentialist understanding of gender and a phobia of gender nonconformity in their viewers, they draw a parallel between an “aberration” of a pregnant man and the pregnant female teenage body. Inviting disgust for pregnant young men, the ads instruct their viewers to consider pregnant bodies of teenage women

similarly “disturbing.” In this way the PSAs produce teenage mothers as socially abject: subject to control and censure, neglect, or violence. According to Imogen Tyler, social abjection is the cultivation of a “disgust consensus,” or a shared feeling of revulsion.⁵³

Social abjection is often developed through the discursive creation of caricatured figures – animated by affective associations – that stand in for actual human beings.⁵⁴ As caricatures, the figures allow wide latitude in what associations are possible without having to account for the specifications of actual lived experiences. These caricatures are provided a singular story that is simultaneously capacious enough to hold a slew of deceptive associations. Another way to think about these caricatures is as *cultural fantasies*. Cultural fantasies are gendered and racialized constructions that structure public intelligibilities, affective responses, frames of reception, and interpretation.”⁵⁵

According to Paula Ioanide:

Dominant cultural fantasies structure intuitive, affective, and often unconscious responses in relation to the ways subjects are symbolically represented in culture. They often function as social forces that make injustices against a particularly racialized and gendered group or individual appear normative, natural, and necessary.”⁵⁶

National discourses about teenage pregnancy over the past half-century have developed into such cultural fantasies about the figure of the “Teen Mom”. Like similar campaigns across the country, the Milwaukee initiative does not represent teenage mothers as human beings – as thinking and feeling people. Rather, it creates its own brand of a familiar national caricature, the “Teen Mom”, which makes the ill treatment of teenage mothers seem not only acceptable but also necessary. Such figures exist only in the imagination but have very real effects in the lives of the humans they represent.

The Pregnant Boys PSAs enhance cultural fantasies of teenage mothers as perniciously deviant by affectively linking gender and sexual nonconforming with pregnant teenage bodies. Nonnormative bodies, particularly transgendered or transsexual, have long been objects of fascination and horror, identified as monstrous and disgusting by projections of a fearful and anxious cissexist gaze.⁵⁷ Through an indeterminacy made discursively possible by the caricaturization of the trans figure, transness is often conflated with other queer and deviant signifiers:

So a monstrous construction of trans bodies creates a vertiginous slide between signifiers – gender, sexuality, race, class, human, not human. ... Because monsters have to be everything the human is not, this ambiguity is important; they are in the broadest sense queer.⁵⁸

By employing an image of a pregnant boy, the Milwaukee ads tap into the assumed cissexist anxieties and disgust reactions of their viewers to reiterate the boundaries of heteronormative gender and characterize pregnant teenage women as monstrous. In these PSAs, the caricature of the “Teen Mom” is treated with the same ambiguity as the trans figure, easily taking on associations with, and being blamed for, a host of social ills to which she is not necessarily even connected.

Trans monstrosity is not the only affective association the PSAs employ to produce teenage mothers as deviant and unnatural. As noted earlier, the text of the PSAs explain that that part of why viewers should be disturbed is that the teenage mother is apparently an economic “burden” on “the rest of us” successful tax-paying adults who are purportedly not a burden to others. Positioning pregnant teenagers as a drain on the system and an enemy in competition for scarce resources, the PSAs call on viewers to feel disgusted and angry. They invoke an affective linkage between teenage mothers and “welfare queens” through the signifier of the economically burdensome mother.⁵⁹ Here

the PSAs tap into the anxiety of the zero sum game,⁶⁰ a rhetorical device frequently used to harness public sentiment against the succor of target groups including undocumented immigrants and welfare recipients.⁶¹ This is an easy association considering the already circulating social anxiety about, and conflation of, the fertility of women of color, immigrants, and persons living in poverty.⁶²

Reinforcing this affective association between teenage mothers and the sexually deviant “welfare queen” is racialized imagery that forms the backdrop of the Pregnant Boys PSAs. The PSA subjects: a Latino, Black, and Caucasian young man, in turn, are carefully framed and posed to tell a story about their racial and economic backgrounds. Both men of color are posed in obviously impoverished areas and are associated with criminality and danger through dress, pose, concrete walls, fencing, and bars. The Latino man is shown as defiant and aggressive, challenging the viewer with his hard stare, however, the Black man has been emasculated. He wears softer clothing, poses as if ashamed rather than defiant, and looks at the floor. The viewer is positioned to look down at him, and the photo is edited to make him appear alone in a prison-like room. Both images have been edited to enhance the feeling of isolation and institutionalization. The Caucasian youth, on the other hand, is made to look more innocent and affluent through his pose and accessories. Rather than editing the background to make him appear more alone and institutionalized, the editing has the opposite effect – hiding the nature of the alleyway he is photographed in, making the scene appear more upscale. Finally, the presence of blue sky and a living tree lends his photo a feel of freedom and community that is absent in both other photos. The context of the Pregnant Boys makes the message clear: it is not just the unnaturalness of the young pregnant body that should be

disturbing; strongly racialized imagery and text that invokes stereotypes of dependency firmly connect teenage pregnancy with the affectively sticky associations of race, poverty, criminality, and sexual deviancy.⁶³

The implicit associations between teenage pregnancy and racialized stereotypes in the Pregnant Boys PSAs are made explicit in the “If Truth Be Told” (“ITBT”) report, a document authored by the United Way in 2006. The “ITBT” report begins with the claim, “we all wish to thrive in a community that is healthy physically, socially, and economically. [...] In looking at both the causes and effects of an unhealthy community, there is *one issue* that stands out: *teen pregnancy*.”⁶⁴ Elevating teenage pregnancy to the city’s most standout issue, “If Truth Be Told” associates it with a slew of social ills including murder, generational poverty, dysfunction of the family including incest and child sexual abuse, child neglect, unemployment, generational sexual deviancy, infant mortality, crime rates, dependency, and loss of business tax revenue and jobs. Reminiscent of the Moynihan Report,⁶⁵ the “ITBT” report uses teenage pregnancy to locate these social ills in communities and families of color, and in the sexual deviancy of low-income women of color particularly.

Much of Milwaukee and national teenage pregnancy prevention, similar to the Pregnant Boys campaign, is racially targeted using context and association.⁶⁶ However, the purported urgency of, and the valence of morality associated with, teenage pregnancy prevention (few would argue against it) allows Milwaukee to blatantly target Black and Latina teenage women under the pretext of protecting them from structural disparity. The “ITBT” report invokes racial disparities in teenage pregnancy rates, as well as rates of poverty, crime, and economic dependency – disparities largely resulting from structural

marginalization – to authorize paternalistically racist “rescue” efforts, which actually locate the responsibility for teenage pregnancy in teenagers’ individual choices.

Nation-wide and in Wisconsin roughly half of births to teenage women are to whites. However, statistical reports emphasize the higher per capita rates of these births to Black and Latina women.⁶⁷ Such reporting tactics use births to Caucasians as a baseline to determine the level of racial disparity in ways that construct teenage pregnancy as a problem primarily caused by young women of color. The “ITBT” report continues this trend:

While most racial/ethnic groups in Wisconsin experienced declines in teen births during the 1990s, the African American teen birth rate was still five times that of the white rate at the end of the decade. The teen birth rate for Hispanic girls was the only racial/ethnic teen birth rate that was not lower in 2000 than it was in 1990.⁶⁸

Not only is racial disparity a focus in the 2006 “ITBT” report, but also the initiative continues to be authorized through this racially specific rhetoric. For example, when discussing a new goal for pregnancy reduction in 2014, Milwaukee Health Commissioner Bevan Baker is quoted as saying, “This new goal is not only about reducing our overall rates, but about closing the gap between racial and ethnic groups,” and Mayor Tom Barrett as claiming, “Today we are saying that we will not leave anyone behind, and that all of our children are important and essential to our city's future.”⁶⁹ The initiative’s accusatory and degrading treatment of Black and Latina teenage women and their families is presented as necessary in order to rescue them from their own cultural failure.

It could be argued that the report emphasizes births to teenage women of color because in the city of Milwaukee the high proportion of Black residents equates to a higher proportion of teen births.⁷⁰ However, the report goes out of its way to cast

suspicion on families of color. For instance, in a section discussing sexual victimization, the report claims, “Research points to a strong connection between sexual victimization and teen pregnancy.”⁷¹ It goes on to say:

[N]on-Hispanic white females are the majority of sexual assault victims, and the majority of offenders are non-Hispanic white males. *However, it is important to consider the lack of reporting in communities where “inappropriate behavior” is not always recognized or reported.*⁷²

Statistics in this area emphasize sexual victimization among Caucasian perpetrators and victims, but the “ITBT” report implies that sexual victimization is actually high in non-Caucasian communities where members are portrayed as too ignorant to know the definition of sexual abuse or to report it. The “ITBT” report presents the information in a manner that foregrounds sexual violence as a problem in non-Caucasian communities particularly. It also blames the sexual victims, implicitly young women of color, by placing a statement attributed to a young woman in the page margin saying, “If you don’t have a father, you may need to get male attention elsewhere, even though it may be negative.”⁷³ Appearing alongside text emphasizing sexual violence in communities of color, this statement works in context with widespread associations between Black families and single motherhood to invite the reader to imagine teenage pregnancy and sexual deviancy in Black families together. In fact, taken as a whole, the report presents the supposed deviancy of teenage pregnancy and of families of color as synonymous. One way it does this is by characterizing teenage pregnancy as cyclical, claiming it “is both cause and effect of larger problems, such as poverty, sexual victimization, child abuse and family dysfunction, all of which operate in a cyclical, symbiotic way.”⁷⁴

The premise that the sexuality of women of color is the cause of social problems is not new.⁷⁵ Patricia Hill Collins discusses cultural fantasies about Black women’s

sexuality, fertility, and mothering in her canonical work, *Black Feminist Thought*. Pointing to the “controlling images,” of the “careless black mother,” the “welfare queen,” and the “jezebel,” she explains that black women have long been cast as deviant in their sexuality and incompetent in their mothering. According to Collins, as the targets of sexualized racism, Black women’s sexual deviancy is linked to their biology and considered intractable. Thus the “cyclical, symbiotic” dysfunction of teenage pregnancy described in the “ITBT” report is a reiteration of cultural fantasies about Black women: Collins argues, “because U.S. understandings of race rely on biological categories that, while renegotiated, cannot be changed – skin color is permanent – Black hypersexuality is conceptualized as being intergenerational and resistant to change.”⁷⁶ Furthermore, keeping in mind the affective stickiness of racialized sexuality, a direct path can be traced from the caricaturization of mammies and careless Black mothers, to the construction of welfare queens and jezebels, to the invention of crack mothers and teen moms.

An example of the racist characterizations of Black teenage women’s sexuality in the Milwaukee campaigns is a PSA that ostensibly advertises a new album being released by fake musical artist Maxxxy Mum. The print PSA shows a young Black woman draped invitingly across a chair in between two gold-plated SUVs. She wears skimpy shorts and top, large hoop earrings and black stiletto heels. The image invites viewers to download ringtones to the songs “Whattup Shawty?” and “Baby B Jumpin” from the album “What it do?” When viewers actually downloaded the ringtones, they heard a recording of a screaming infant and a voiceover saying “Not exactly music to your ears? Than you want to think twice before getting yourself or someone else pregnant as a teen”).⁷⁷ On the Maxxy Mum Facebook page, the description of the album reads: “Yo- check it. My new

album's droppin' nov 4. What it do.”⁷⁸ Using language and imagery associated with Black hip hop artists, the PSA communicates the racial background of the fake artist and her intended audience. Furthermore, the connection to hip hop music, the sexualized pose of the young woman, and the triple exes in her name, Maxxy Mum, play on caricatures of both Black hypersexuality and young Black motherhood. As demonstrated by this PSA, the teenage mother is the latest in a line of figures animated by affective investments in racist and classist control.

According to Collins, controlling images of Black women's sexuality and fertility are rooted in heterosexist notions that Black sexual deviance is expressed not only through sexual appetites, but also in the failure of Black women to properly model feminine gender. Thus, the purported hypersexuality of Black women marks a border between what is considered normative and non-normative gender and sexuality.⁷⁹ As noted above, Cohen analyzes heteronormativity as a system of power that goes beyond a simple heterosexual/homosexual binary. It is bound up with gender, sexual behavior, and sexual orientation⁸⁰ as well as with patriarchy, racism, and classism.⁸¹ In *Aberrations in Black*, Roderick Ferguson explicates a historical basis for interlocking systems of racialization, liberalism, heteropatriarchy, and capital, which define the evolving heteronormative individual. According to Ferguson, Black subjects have historically been situated as already non-heteronormative, the heteropatriarchal family has been tightly coupled with whiteness, and the proper U.S. citizen is bound to white heteronormativity. Ferguson argues:

As figures of nonheteronormative perversions, straight African Americans were reproductive rather than productive, heterosexual but never heteronormative. [...] This construction of African American sexuality as wild, unstable, and

undomesticated locates African American sexuality within the irrational, and therefore outside the bounds of the citizenship machinery.⁸²

Thus, Ferguson argues, the exclusion of African Americans from liberal citizenship is both located within and evidenced by non-heteronormative African American sexuality and kinship forms.

My analysis of the racialization of teenage pregnancy prevention campaigns identifies associations between teenage pregnancy and communities of color on every level – systemic, structural, symbolic, interpersonal – as vital to the project of creating a binary between the queer teenage mother and her heteronormative counterpart. The rhetoric of teenage pregnancy prevention stabilizes affective investments in racism. Diverting attention from structural and systemic racial neglect and abuse, it locates the source of social problems in the individual choices of teenagers of color. It also uses affective associations between teenage pregnancy and racialized deviant sexuality to create the teenage mother as abject, and to authorize her social death.

Racialization proves the perversion of teenage pregnancy, and teenage pregnancy proves the perversion of non-whiteness. Furthermore, racialization is a primary means through which heteronormativity is enforced, and sexuality is key to biopolitical power and regulation. Winnubst describes these connections as the phenomenon of a “ricochet” from one field to another where anxieties about race are expressed in sexual regulation and vice versa.⁸³ She argues that, “one set of oppressions actually functions to protect and perpetuate the other: heterosexism protects whiteness ... [and] heterosexuality often becomes the primary field of anxiety whenever whiteness appears to be threatened.”⁸⁴ Viewed in this light, the emergence of the “Teen Mom” as a dangerous identity, and

teenage pregnancy as a serious public health epidemic, is revealed as a timely invention of phallicized whiteness.

In the mid twentieth century (roughly 1950-1980), just as anti-racism activists were making significant civil rights victories, capitalism was under increasing pressure from leftist critique, women's sexual and reproductive rights were expanding, and LGBT rights entered the national stage, the caricatured figure of the "Teen Mom" was born. Affectively animated by raced, classed, and sexual anxieties, she serves the ultimate function of re-stabilizing whiteness through the hegemonic enforcement of heteronormative behavior and proper neoliberal citizenship in young women.

Enacting a Pedagogy of Violence

Milwaukee uses a militarist language of violence to describe the teenage pregnancy prevention initiative: populations are "targeted" using "strategies" and "tactics" that utilize an "all hands on deck" "guerilla" approach, while community partners are "on the front lines" and "in the trenches."⁸⁵ This militaristic language, framing the campaign as a war against teenage pregnancy, matches the violence of rhetoric used to authorize it: as I have shown, initiative leaders justify their aggressive approach through a grim portrayal of teenage pregnancy and its purportedly horrific effects on teenage parents, their children, and the state. Increasingly aggressive prevention efforts are seemingly justified due to the framing of teenage pregnancy as an urgent *growing* "problem" – one that has been wrongly accepted as normal by the public. For instance, in the 2011 update to the "ITBT" report, Nicole Angresano, head of the initiative oversight committee writes, "we have to stay real. In the coming years, we will continue our bold public awareness efforts. We're not going to let anyone forget what a

significant issue this is!”⁸⁶ In a 2013 Milwaukee Sentinel article about the success of the campaign, Mayor Tom Barrett is quoted saying, “Let us keep our foot on the accelerator to drive down the rate even further. Positive trends must not be reversed. Let's remember there are still too many teens having babies.”⁸⁷ According to Imogen Tyler, social subjects are vital “ideological conductors mobilized to do the dirty work of neoliberal governmentality.”⁸⁸ Thus, the figure of the “Teen Mom” must be made visible as an enduring, yet exigent problem, while at the same time prevention efforts will ultimately fail so that she will continue to perform her cultural labor in the stabilization of phallicized whiteness.

The Milwaukee campaign has been honored as a model for the nation because of its innovative, ‘shocking’ media tactics.⁸⁹ These tactics are justified, in part, by framing teenagers as naturally resistant adolescents who are distracted and overwhelmed by a deluge of electronic streams of information, and, in part, by emphasizing the harm that teenage mothers purportedly cause society.⁹⁰ All teenagers are interpellated through this binary of pregnant/mothering teen versus passingly virginal teen. As a working of biopower, teenage pregnancy prevention constructs discipline of sexuality and avoidance of pregnancy as foundational to teenage sexual subjectivity. Whether a teen is maintaining sexual abstinence, having sex and using contraception, worrying about doing neither, or pretending pregnancy won’t happen to them, they are engaging with the biopower of teenage pregnancy discourses.

However, as demonstrated in the 2006 “ITBT” report and its 2011 update, prevention discourses are particularly raced and classed. According to Lupton, “disgust is closely associated with the emotions of fear and hatred incorporated into such responses

as racism, sexism, homophobia and discrimination.”⁹¹ Thus the Milwaukee campaigns continue a history of state and public health violence against bodies of color, those in poverty, and the disabled.⁹²

In the previous section I focused on Milwaukee PSAs that engage in systemic shame by instructing teenagers and, more importantly, the greater public, on how to view and feel the “Teen Mom”: as a disgusting, out of control, social burden. In this section I am interested in Milwaukee PSAs that engage teenagers more directly. These PSAs engage in public acts of episodic shaming through the use of “trojan horse” PSAs: mean-spirited messages about teenage mothering masquerading as objects teens will willingly engage with.

Serve Marketing and BVK Media, the primary creators of all Milwaukee PSAs, amplify the violence of the campaigns’ rhetoric. They describe this category of their PSAs as “punking” teenagers. For example, the fake release of the music album by fake artist “Maxxxy Mum,” described above, is referred to as a “classic teen pregnancy punk job” on Serve’s website.⁹³ The punking techniques use in the Maxxxy Mum campaign are repeatedly used in the Milwaukee campaigns. In one action, they distributed fliers and put notices on buses, bus shelters, and billboards advertising summer jobs for teenagers. When teens seeking jobs called the number, however, they heard the sound of a screaming infant with a message warning them not to get pregnant if they want money.⁹⁴ Enacting another ruse, Serve enlisted young men to punk girls on Valentine’s Day in what they describe as a ‘guerilla effort.’ According to the Serve website:

Valentine’s Day is a day of love. This year, Serve took advantage of this day devoted to romance and affection, to deliver an important message about teenage pregnancy. On February 14th, Serve had young men hand out over 1000 special Valentine’s to teenage girls at bus stops adjacent to a half dozen *inner city*

Milwaukee High Schools. On the outside of the heart-shaped cards, were the words, “Baby You’re the One.” Inside the card revealed a *wake-up call* listing thef (sic) trials and tribulations that young teen mothers often face when *raising a child alone*.⁹⁵

Not only is this campaign a very public way to turn a Valentine’s Day card into sexual shaming, it also continues the racialized targeting apparent in the “ITBT” report. Aiming their message at segregated ‘inner city’ young women, the campaign assumes they are likely to become pregnant. Also assuming assured single motherhood, the cards are written from the perspective of the future baby’s father, implicitly a Black man who plans to abandon her and the child:

You’re the one who’s going to carry our baby. **You’re the one** who’s going to go to all those doctors appointments. **You’re the one** who’s going to go through all those intense hours of excruciating, painful labor. **You’re the one** who’s going to deal with those disgusting, dirty diapers. **You’re the one** who’s going to have to pull yourself out of bed at 3 in the morning because the baby is crying out to be fed. **You’re the one** who’s going to have to find daycare so you can go to work to pay for all the stuff the baby needs. Yeah baby, **you’re the one**. [other side] **You’re the one**. Still think having a baby as a teen sounds like a good idea? BabyCanWait.com⁹⁶ [emphasis original, bold sections in red]

Placing such a malicious message in a red, heart shaped Valentines Day card, and having young men distribute them to girls, illustrates the violence these campaigns enact against young women. These PSAs operate to encourage young men and the watching public to take pleasure and receive entertainment in the sexual humiliation of young women, using teenage pregnancy as the vehicle to shame them into sexual and reproductive self-discipline.⁹⁷

Perhaps the most convoluted and intensive scheme Serve used to punk Milwaukee teens is the 2010 video PSA masquerading as a horror movie trailer. According to the Serve blog, the “fake movie, 2028, *punks* teens with powerful message.”⁹⁸ The updated 2011 “ITBT” report described the PSA at length:

Serve Marketing put together a full-scale movie premiere for a non-existent movie. Youth were recruited to come and see a movie via previews, online trailers, a Facebook page, a MySpace page, and text messages. The movie's title, "2028: It Finally Ends," referred to the year that a child born to teen parents in 2010 would finally turn 18. [...] Young people were given free tickets to the "movie," which was billed as an independent horror film. When youth arrived at the theater, they were instead given messages about safe sex, the importance of delaying sex, and other positive health messages."

In addition to tricking teens into a public discussion of teenage pregnancy, the fake movie premier was attended and reported on by a local television station and was the subject of numerous newspaper and website articles and blog posts, some criticizing the tactic as going too far, more enjoying the entertainment value, and admiring the audacity of the ploy. Since the reveal, the video has been available on the 2028 website and YouTube.

Certainly all of the Milwaukee PSAs are intended to generate shame and represent teenage mothers and motherhood in distorted ways. I am particularly interested in the violent aspects of the PSAs that trick teenagers by promising one thing and delivering something quite different. Serve Marketing refers to these campaigns as "guerilla," a term of violence defined as "irregular warfare especially as a member of an independent unit carrying out harassment and sabotage." Associated with 'freedom fighters' or revolutionaries, guerilla fighters also have a history of committing egregious acts of violence against civilians.⁹⁹ The terminology of guerrilla entered mainstream marketing parlance in the 1980s.¹⁰⁰ Yet affective associations with the term remain violent and militaristic, particularly in this context, considering the militaristic language used by initiative leaders.

Violent connotations are further reinforced when Serve describes these media efforts as "punk jobs." An archaic meaning of "punk" refers to prostitutes. The slang terminology of "being punked" originates in prison lexicon referring to prisoners raping

and controlling other prisoners. In this context, being punked or ‘turned out’ typically refers to a heterosexual male being made another prisoner’s “bitch,” someone that takes the feminized role of providing various labors, including sex.¹⁰¹ Ashton Kutcher’s well-known 2003 television show “Punk’d” increased the popularity of the verb ‘to punk’ in the mainstream lexicon. In “Punk’d,” a meaner version of shows like “Candid Camera,” Kutcher created elaborate pranks that he played on other celebrities while filming them. In either context, being punked means at minimum to be embarrassed or tricked into doing something, and may mean being humiliated and violated.

Debby Phillips investigates violent “punking” behaviors in middle and high school boys. She concludes that punking is a strategy used by boys in the performative constitution of heteronormative masculinity. According to Phillips, the initiators of punking behavior blame their victims for asking for the abuse by showing weakness or failing to perform hegemonic masculinity. Additionally, she found that punking could be a form of initiation in which bonding occurs and violence is passed on from larger, older boys to younger or weaker boys who often became offenders in the future.

In the “punking” PSAs, the targets, primarily young teenage women, are considered fair game for humiliation by dint of their gendered, raced, and classed social identities. Furthermore, the involvement of young men in the “punking” of these women is performative of gendered violence more broadly, and a parody of the sexual and emotional loss of control that young women are imagined to experience when they become pregnant. Thus, the terminology of “punking” is perhaps more appropriate for the Milwaukee campaigns than is apparent at first glance. These PSAs trick Milwaukee teens into performing the material and affective labor of campaigns. Through their

participation, teenagers provide the labor of the campaign (calling numbers, downloading songs, visiting websites), embody the statistics used to determine campaign effectiveness (i.e., the number of calls received is proof of success regardless of who calls and how they react to the trick), and also serve as targets for sexual control. In effect, these PSAs make teenagers, particularly young women of color, the initiative's "bitch" as they are tricked into sexually shaming situations again and again. What does it mean for Milwaukee teenagers to be 'punked' by public health campaigns endorsed by the Mayor, Health Commissioner, and the United Way among others? Considering these meanings of "punk," the PSAs practice a pedagogy of violence that instructs participants and watchers on how to not only feel about "Teen Moms," but how to discipline *potential* teen moms as well, creating an environment in which public humiliation is an authorized health promotion tactic against people ostensibly considered innocent children in other contexts. The fact that such "guerilla" tactics are authorized in the Milwaukee initiative indicates the degree to which violence in the name of pregnancy prevention has become a commonplace, even pleasurable and entertaining, activity, and the role that dehumanization plays in such violence.

Through the visual and textual representations in each of these PSA categories, viewers are taught how to feel toward the "Teen Mom": she is a gender abomination, a disturbing monstrosity that viewers should be disgusted by; she is an economic burden that viewers should feel threatened by and angry about; she cannot afford the services that regular tax-payers can, and she takes resources that she does not deserve; finally, she is a racialized figure that lives in a cycle of poverty and criminalization. Yet there is another layer to the narrative. As a raced, classed and gendered figure, she is a failure of

the liberal, rational individual. She is unable to embody, and fails to approximate, the proper subject of phallicized whiteness.¹⁰² Next, I turn to explicating how the teenage mother fails to be a proper citizen in phallicized whiteness, due, primarily, to her being out of sync with chrononormativity, with the normative sexuality and reproductions of hegemonic white time.

Temporality and the “Teen Mom”

Feminist and queer theorists have posited that same sex sexuality is dangerous to the heteronormative social order because its ultimate purpose is pleasure rather than reproduction.¹⁰³ If, as Winnubst argues, phallicized whiteness maintains its power through the disavowal of the body, then sexuality (with its embodied desires and pleasures) is contrary to the neutral positioning of whiteness itself. This tension is resolved through naturalization of sexuality to the reproductive impulse – to the utility of procreation. Sexuality is heteronormative when it is at least tangentially related to the reproductive impulse within kinship formations associated with whiteness and middle class. The timing and sequencing of heteronormative sexuality is, therefore, inexorably productive of raced and classed divisions of sexuality. Winnubst asserts, “if the reproduction and protection of whiteness is the only acceptable motive for sexual relations, the projection of desire as dark, uncontrollable, and irrational is cast not only across non-white bodies, but also across any form of non-reproductive sexuality.”¹⁰⁴ In this paradigm, sexual desire is heteronormative only when it is procreative within white, propertied nuclear families.

Considering this analysis of sexual utility, how does the teenage mother relate to reproductive heterosexuality? I have analyzed the “Teen Mom” as overdetermined by

raced, classed, gendered, and sexual systems of normativity. However, if the stigmatization of teenage mothers could be fully explained by their often overlapping marginalized subject positions, we might expect there to be at least some teenage mothers who could be free of the stigma associated with teenage pregnancy. However, even though teenaged mothers from privileged social positions (i.e. white, middle class, gender normative, perhaps even married) certainly have advantages that make teenage pregnancy easier to navigate,¹⁰⁵ they are considered sexually nonnormative. Rather, in a reversal of the well-theorized connection between heterosexual reproduction and utility, all teenage heterosexual reproduction is framed as unnatural, abnormal and useless. For teenage women (regardless of race), reproductivity is not enough to lend their heterosexual sex utility. Neither is whiteness or class status enough to lend their reproduction legitimacy.

I have argued that temporality plays an important role in the construction and abjection of the “Teen Mom”. Non-normative temporality operates in teenage pregnancy prevention in several ways. First, the “Teen Mom” is positioned as unnatural and monstrous in association with deviant “too young” sexuality. Second, the teenage mother exists outside of the proper sequencing of heteronormative time. Third, the “Teen Mom” experiences social death and is targeted for extermination – she is literally “out of time” as her life figuratively ends with the beginning of her pregnancy. Finally, the “Teen Mom” becomes an unhappy object by rejecting ‘happy time,’ or the path to happiness.

The Pregnant Boys ad cluster was one of the earliest PSA campaigns distributed by the Milwaukee initiative. In the Pregnant Boys campaign the “Teen Mom” is affectively associated with the gender “abomination” of the pregnant male, and with raced and classed economic failure. The most recent, the Head Turner campaign

mentioned at the beginning of this article, does similar work to position the “Teen Mom” as unnatural. In this campaign, the bodies of youth are digitally dismembered and their heads are sutured onto children’s toys that are dragged along by giant toddlers. The photoshopped images are overlaid with the text “Have a baby too young and it’ll control your life. BabyCanWait.Com”¹⁰⁶ In the Head Turner PSAs, it the “Teen Mom”’s bad timing that is emphasized: what makes her sexuality and reproduction deviant is the fact that it comes too soon, when she is “too young,” because she failed to wait.¹⁰⁷

The primary charge levied against teenage reproduction is that it happens prematurely. All other claims hinge on this one understanding: that there is an age under which reproduction is unnatural, immoral and pathological. However, the denotation of this age is a slippery construct that changes according to the needs of the narrator. A frequent tactic is to talk about very young children in hyperbolic efforts to shock and horrify. For instance, phrases like “babies having babies,” or “kids having kids,”¹⁰⁸ have effects beyond infantilization and the resulting invalidation of teenage mothers’ agency. Rather, they also raise the specter of incest and child sexual abuse – of actual children becoming pregnant.¹⁰⁹ The fact that most teenage mothers are in fact *both biological and legal adults* betrays the process of affective association at work here. This type of rhetoric harnesses the stickiness of listener’s feelings of horror and disgust for actual sexual deviance (the rape of infants), attaching those feelings to what could be more accurately described as economic or temporal deviance (reproducing outside of normative sequencing and financial stability).

In the area of teenage pregnancy prevention, panic and disgust are amplified by misrepresentation of teenage birth statistics. In Milwaukee County, births to women

under age 15 account for only $\approx .01\%$ of births under 20 (a total of 14 births in 2013), only $\approx 27\%$ of teenage births are to women 15-17 years old (the age group Milwaukee campaigns target for prevention), and the vast majority, $\approx 72\%$, are to women over the age of 18.¹¹⁰ Yet, prevention rhetoric often invokes the youngest of teenage mothers, maximizing affective response and generating disgust. Prevention rhetoric maximizes public anxiety by using the largest statistical numbers available (all pregnancies under 20 years old) in conjunction with the least common and more vulnerable age groups (<15, or 15-17 depending on the narrator). For example, referencing the importance of the Pregnant Boys campaign in a 2013 Wisconsin Public Radio (WPR) interview, head of the teenage pregnancy prevention oversight committee, Nicole Angresano states:

We had become complacent, we were not flinching or feeling uncomfortable when we saw *fourteen year olds pushing baby carriages*, we were not flinching as a community when we saw our teen birth rate *among the highest in the nation*. And so we really needed to knock some sense into people quite frankly. [...] No fourteen or fifteen year old should have their life choices severely limited by that age.^{111,112}

Angresano uses a fourteen year old as the face of teenage birth in Milwaukee and then references statistics that include much older women. This slippery invocation of misrepresentational statistics to maximize effect, lends the figure of the “Teen Mom” a sense of indeterminacy similar to that of the trans body discussed earlier. The figure can perform a vertiginous slide between innocent infant and out of control adolescent, between sexual victim and promiscuous delinquent, between human child and dismembered toy. Unstable in her represented embodiment, she is disconnected from the lives of actual teenage mothers and exists only as a possibility conjured in the imaginations of the moment: inhuman, and monstrous.

The Head Turner campaign encapsulates this process in an image. Although the text of the Head Turner PSAs appear to be directed at *teenagers*, “have a baby too young and it’ll control your life,” in fact none of the PSAs have any substantive information that might assist teenage women in controlling their fertility. Rather, like the Pregnant Boys PSAs, the Head Turners function to instruct *the public* on how to feel about teenage pregnancy and teenage mothers, and to reinforce the cultural fantasy of the teenage mother as too young, out of control, and pathological.

In addition to associating the “Teen Mom” with deviance and monstrosity, the Head Turner PSAs reveal a larger truth: women’s bodies are made socially intelligible through their adherence to normative sexual and reproductive timing. In *Time Binds*, Freeman describes time as a discursive regime that organizes bodies into a coherence that feels natural, but, in fact, has a sociopolitical history.¹¹³ Elizabeth Freeman refers to this dominant feeling of time as *chrononormative*, arguing that, “flesh is bound into socially meaningful embodiment through temporal regulation.”¹¹⁴ Although teenage pregnancy refers to an embodied phase in maturity, having a baby ‘too young’ has more to do with rupturing chrononormativity than with being physically immature. Anticipation, the temporal mode of capitalism, maintains the dominant experience of time as always pointed forward, deferring the present in anticipation for the “future anterior,” a future that “will have been.”¹¹⁵

Future-anterior and anticipatory deferral, interworking with systems of class, race, gender, ability, and sexuality, strongly structure hegemonic timing and sequencing for life.¹¹⁶ This structure is evident in teenage pregnancy prevention rhetoric where teenagers are bombarded with enjoinders to be the person who avoids pregnancy in order to have

had a successful life in the future. For instance, a Milwaukee video PSA follows a Black teenager as she sadly walks through her life blowing kisses at the signifiers of her future happiness: a picture of her boyfriend, money, having fun with friends, sports trophies, and finally, high school graduation. The voiceover at the end says, “get pregnant as a teen and you can kiss it all goodbye. Be smart. Give *yourself* a future. Learn more at babycanwait.com [emphasis original].”¹¹⁷ The PSA argues that failing to defer pregnancy results in a loss of her future and the success she would have had.

All the Milwaukee PSAs that I analyze reference temporality in some way – including the threat of lost adolescence, the promise of future mothering misery or loss of control, or with the specter of enduring 18 years of hard labor. Additionally, the web address babycanwait.com, ubiquitous on Milwaukee PSAs since the website’s creation in 2008, functions as a shorthand commanding viewers to think of reproduction in terms of deferral whether they visit the website or not.

Feminist scholar Dana Luciano’s term *chronobiopolitics* is useful here. Through *chronobiopolitics*, sexuality and reproduction are arranged and regulated temporally.¹¹⁸ Freeman, building on the concept of *chronobiopolitics*, argues that bodies are synchronized with one another in groups, and also with teleological schema – regulated by state, institutions, and representational processes – which are naturalized in the flesh.¹¹⁹ According to Freeman, such schemas include the sequencing of “marriage, accumulation of health and wealth for the future, reproduction, [and] childrearing.”¹²⁰ This sequence – anticipating a time when one will have been a proper reproductive subject – is invoked repeatedly in teenage pregnancy prevention rhetoric (both nationally and in Milwaukee) in PSAs, sexuality education, reports, research, articles, interviews,

legislation and speeches. For example, in the same WPR interview mentioned above, Nicole Angresano describes the reproductive sequencing promoted by the initiative for Milwaukee's youth:

We want these young people to have every opportunity to finish high school, to go to college, to pursue a career, and then to become parents when they're able to have them on purpose, with a partner that loves them and can help take care of the child, and when they are ... as ready as they can be to move forward with that next step.¹²¹

Education – employment – (heterosexual) marriage – economic stability – children: the straight path.¹²² Inextricable from the hegemony of phallicized whiteness, this sequence forms the backbone of heteronormativity, promoting heteronormative gender and sexual scripts, professional careers, and kinship and childbearing/rearing practices associated with the white middle class. The teenage woman reveals herself as refusing, failing, or unable to adhere to such life sequencing, first when she engages in sexual acts before marriage, and then when her sexual deviance becomes visibly embodied in her pregnancy, marking her protruding belly as a temporal rupture.

In a roundtable discussion, "Theorizing Queer Temporalities," published in *GLQ: A Journal of Gay and Lesbian Studies*, Judith (Jack) Halberstam asks, "what does it mean to engage in a sexual practice whose time is past?" and Carolyn Dinshaw adds, "how does it feel to be an anachronism?"¹²³ Taking these questions as a point of departure, an equally compelling question is, "what does it mean, how does it feel, to be premature, to engage in a sexual practice that is not supposed to have happened yet?" The teenage mother is out of time – both in the wrong time, and run out of time – but she is not late or left behind, she is early, and by being early, she becomes mired and immobilized. Like a premature ejaculation, the teenage mother is over before she gets started, because she

comes too early. By engaging in sex acts before she is considered culturally “ready,” and by not following heteronormative biopolitical sequencing, she steps off of the straight path straight into queer temporality.

A number of theorists have taken up questions of queer temporality and the relationship of queer to the normative social order.¹²⁴ Queer theorist Lee Edelman argues that a dominant mode of reproductive futurity maintains the social order and that, as inherently anti-social and non-reproductive, queers should reject that futurity. According to Edelman, the normative social order is anchored by the child, which is “the figure for whom that order must be held in perpetual trust.”¹²⁵ He promotes queerness, and queer temporality, as a ‘death-drive,’ as anti-future and anti-social by way of anti-reproduction. José Esteban Muñoz argues against Edelman’s rejection of sociality and the future, but agrees with his rejection of the reproductive anchor that maintains heteronormative futures:

Although I believe that there is a lot to like about Edelman’s polemic - mostly its disdain for the culture of the child – I ultimately want to speak for a notion of queer futurity¹²⁶ [...] Futurity can be a problem. Heterosexual culture depends on a notion of the future: as the song goes, ‘the children are our future.’ But that is not the case for different cultures of sexual dissidence. [...] Must the future and the present exist in this rigid binary? Can the future stop being a fantasy of heterosexual reproduction?”¹²⁷

Thus, while speaking for the possibility of queer socialities and queer futures, Muñoz limits the radical possibilities of queer utopia to those who are non-heterosexual and non-reproductive. Halberstam likewise expresses disdain for reproductive futurity, stating, “queer uses of time and space develop, at least in part, in opposition to the institutions of family, heterosexuality, and reproduction,”¹²⁸ and claims that queer alternative temporalities are where “futures can be imagined according to logics that lie outside of

those paradigmatic markers of life experience – namely, birth, marriage, reproduction, and death.”¹²⁹ In each case, these authors define queer temporality as linked with non-heterosexual and non-reproductive sexual practices, defining queer as inherently non-reproductive, at least symbolically if not materially. However, there is a fine line between rejecting the ‘culture of the child’ that holds heteronormativity and phallicized whiteness in place, and disdain for actual children and for the actual women who produce them. While defense of the child has justified the subordination and punishment of those who don’t embody or perform as proper reproductive subjects,¹³⁰ a blanket rejection of reproduction, of those who reproduce and their offspring, risks furthering violence against those already subject to reproductive censure.

What haunts Edelman’s, Muñoz’, and Halberstam’s discussions of queer temporality is the unavoidable simultaneity and the inextricable constitution of sexuality with race, class, gender, ability, etc. Their rejection of reproductive futures does not account for how women of color, women with disabilities, poverty-class women, women outside of heteronormative kinship formations, and young women (whether heterosexual or not) have long been denied access to a future through the devaluing of their motherhood and/or the destruction of their reproductive capacity.¹³¹ Juana María

Rodríguez points out:

Futurity has never been given to queers of color, children of color, or other marginalized communities that live under the violence of state and social erasure, a violence whose daily injustices exceed the register of a politics organized solely around sexuality, even as they are enmeshed within a logic of sexuality that is always already racialized through an imagined ideal citizen subject.¹³²

Rodríguez goes on to argue that “the inability to recognize the alternative sexual practices, intimacies, logics, and politics that exist outside the sightlines of cosmopolitan

gay white male urban culture is never benign.”¹³³ Indeed, women of color scholars insist on the requirement to theorize sexuality within multiple, intersecting avenues of oppression that are mutually constituted.¹³⁴

What might it mean to think about nonnormative temporality for women whose very exclusion from ‘straight time’ comes from their reproduction rather than from their non-reproductive sexual behavior? Can we think through a queer temporality that recognizes that for some people, reproduction is a radical nonnormative act, a queer act, and for whom non-heteronormative sexuality may come in the form of heterosexual intercourse? I do not equate teenage and other nonnormative motherhood with homosexual or non-heterosexual identity. As Cathy Cohen points out, heterosexuality results in privilege even for those who are excluded from heteronormative biological sequencing.¹³⁵ I argue that for teenage mothers, it is *exactly* their engagement in heterosexual sexual behavior and reproduction that signals exclusion from heteronormative time and consequent abject status. Additionally, it is, in part, through association with raced, classed, queer sexuality that the figure of the “Teen Mom” is made abject. Queering the discussion about teenage pregnancy and imagining the teenage mother as queer opens up new avenues of recovery for the abject teenage mother that don’t reinscribe heteronormative ideologies on the teenage body, nor reify heterosexual reproduction as inherently valuable. That teenage pregnancy most commonly occurs for young women of color and young white women from working class and poverty-class backgrounds makes urgent an intersectional queer analysis that recognizes the role of temporality in authorizing racist and classist discursive representations (and associated material disposessions) against them.

Returning to the place of the child as anchor for reproductive futurity, I argue that Edelman's binary between reproductive heterosexual and non-reproductive homosexual, and between the child and the queer, cannot account for the teenage mother who becomes queer through her 'childish' sexuality and reproduction, whose reproduction is the very thing that threatens the futurity of the child. The "Teen Mom" is in the peculiar position of occupying a liminal space that straddles both the subjectivity of the innocent child for whom heteronormativity must be defended, and also the queer subject that threatens that child's future with her nonnormative sexuality. She spans the gap between victim and perpetrator, both at once, in and of herself. She is a danger to the future by both victimizing her own children and bringing undesirable children into the world.¹³⁶ Thus, the children of teenage mothers are also double interpellated as innocent victims of their mothers and as future deviants, and both interpellations justify eradication of the teenage mother as a threat to the social order.

Referring to teenage mothers as 'children having children' not only raises the specter of incest and child sexual abuse as well as that of prematurity, but also it taps into powerful national legal discourses that envelop the figure of "the exploited child" (whether in fetal personhood legislation, statutory rape and sexual abuse laws, child labor laws, or numerous child safety regulations, laws and policies) as "a peculiar, though not unprecedented, hero."¹³⁷ Such discourses, which fetishize children as always already violable innocent victims, authorize a "whatever it takes" attitude toward teenage pregnancy prevention. Yet because teenage women engage in too-soon sex and too-soon reproduction, they are also the targets of prevention's attack. Prevention discourses authorize violence against teenage women in the name of protecting their futures, and the

future of “the child” and heteronormativity more broadly. This paternalistic, classed and raced “protection” comes in the form of extermination in which already pregnant and mothering teenagers experience the social death of abjection, and teenage mothers as a whole experience the eugenic death of preventive reproductive biopolitics – they are “bred out” of the population through the pressure to bring teenage pregnancy rates ever lower. The Milwaukee Head Turner campaign signals this social death with imagery of dismembered heads being dragged about by toddlers. These teenagers are not human anymore. They did not wait; they got pregnant too soon and lost their agency and self-determination. No longer in control of their lives, they are monstrous objects whose lives are “over.”

The promise of social death, of the future foreclosed, is evident in the Goodbye Kiss PSA described above. The voiceover instructs young women to save *their* futures. By emphasizing the possessive, the PSA equates becoming a teenage mother with the termination of the teenager’s own life. This message is made more explicit in the mock film trailer for 2028. Earlier I looked at the violent method of distribution (punking) of this PSA. Here, I am interested in what its content reveals about the future envisioned for teenage mothers. The PSA opens with flashing images of an angry man in police car lights, a gasping woman in hospital garb, and dripping blood, and sounds of distressed, heavy breathing. A heartbeat monitor beats in the background. Showing the scenes in reverse, the video indicates time is moving backward before the date 2010 flashes on the screen. Now revealing what led to the horrifying scenes of the video’s beginning, a teenage woman goes to a party alone, has sex with young male stranger, and is later seen vomiting in the halls of her high school before she receives the news that she is pregnant

from the school nurse. Speeding up time by flashing scenes in quick succession, the video shows the next eighteen years in scenes indicating poverty, violence, and disappointment interspersed with the young woman screaming, children crying, and cop sirens, ending in the, now older, woman crying as her son is taken away by the police in handcuffs.

Interspersed with the flashing images, text reads:

‘What do you do when...’
‘*A life is about to end...*’
‘And another to begin.’¹³⁸

The date then returns to the screen, counting up from 2010 to 2028, after which the deep, dramatic voice of a typical movie trailer voice-over says:

‘Twenty twenty eight, get pregnant as a teen and the next eighteen years could be the hardest of your life.’

One life begins, another ends. There is no future for the teenage mother, or at least no hope for a happy one. The text of the PSA equates hardship and sadness with the end of a life. It is not just that the future holds no potential, but that being unhappy is in itself a kind of death. Thus when a teenager gets pregnant, one life ends so that another can begin. The innocent pretty young woman who goes to a party alone and has sex with a boy becomes a haggard, unhappy disappointment with the tears to prove it.

The promise of difficulty, of life being “hard” is repeated frequently in teenage pregnancy prevention rhetoric. In fact, most PSAs revolve around this threat: get pregnant as a teen and have a hard, unhappy life. This is because chrononormative time is not just the straight path, it is the path to happiness, what Sarah Ahmed calls a *happiness script*. Happiness is produced as *the* object of human desire, a teleological meaning or purpose to human life that is considered self-evident: who would argue with happiness (and what happens to those who do)?¹³⁹ According to Ahmed, pursuing certain objects of

happiness (often those associated with power and privilege) is assumed to be not only the most satisfying but also the most socially responsible. She explains:

Happiness scripts could be thought of as straightening devices, ways of aligning bodies with what is already lined up. ... To deviate from the line is to be threatened with unhappiness. Happiness scripts encourage us to avoid the unhappy consequences of deviation by making those consequences explicit. The 'whole world,' it might seem, depends on subjects being directed in the right way, toward the right things.¹⁴⁰

Investment in the right objects of happiness becomes a shared feeling (similar to a disgust consensus) in which pursuing happiness, accepting the 'right' path to happiness, and being happy on that path, are framed as duties to oneself and others.¹⁴¹

Every Milwaukee teenage pregnancy PSA is paired with a promise of (un)happiness. According to the script, the happiest path is sexual abstinence until cultural 'readiness' has been achieved in terms of maturity, education, income, and marriage. The unhappy consequences for deviating from this script, or rejecting it altogether, come in the form of hard work, lack of sleep, and financial worries (as if no other parents experience these situations), and also, significantly, in the form of the unhappy screaming baby.

Notably absent from teenage pregnancy narratives are happiness, joy or desire that might be found in the creation and care of another human being. Rather, the love and willing sacrifice, which feminist scholars have problematized as both naturalized to women and demanded of mothers,¹⁴² is denied to teenagers or framed as pathologically immature.¹⁴³ It is no surprise then, that alignment with a heteronormative chronobiopolitical path is framed as the only path to happiness for teenage women. Nor is it surprising that rejection of this path, refusal to defer, is considered a choice to be unhappy and to cause unhappiness for others. Ruptures in a shared straight path become

ruptures in the promise of happiness within a state of fellow feeling, and the point of rupture becomes the source of unhappiness and target of rage. Regardless of the life experience of individual teenage mothers, (whether they consider themselves happy or not), “Teen Moms” are associated with a multitude of social problems that cause unhappiness for them, their children, and society at large.

By contextualizing teenage pregnancy prevention within these constructs of temporality and happiness, the logic of biopolitical control underlying the “ITBT” report’s portrayal of teenage pregnancy as the cause of social dysfunctions like incest, murder, crime, and poverty comes into focus. The “Teen Mom” is an unhappy object. Circulating in an affective economy of shame and disgust, she collects unhappy associations with each revolution. The discursive flogging of the “Teen Mom” in prevention rhetoric – and any potential effects this rhetoric may have on actual teenage women – is justified as necessary for “a community that is healthy physically, socially, and economically.”¹⁴⁴ Encouraging teenagers to discipline their sexuality and reproduction and approximate the happy straight path as closely as possible, prevention rhetoric’s biopolitical function is to abject the queer ‘other’ of the “Teen Mom” against which normative teenage sexuality is maintained.

Conclusion

My analysis reveals the Milwaukee initiative to be a heteronormative biopolitical project that discursively positions the “Teen Mom” as *queer in her relationship to power*. Key to this positionality is the overdetermination of the “Teen Mom” through sexuality, gender, race, class, and age, and her exclusion from the temporality of phallicized whiteness. As a socially abjected ‘other,’ the “Teen Mom” does important cultural work

to stabilize whiteness through the promotion of heteronormative life sequencing for all young women. According to the rhetoric of the campaign, teenage pregnancy is a physical manifestation of undomesticated, uncontrolled sexuality and of reproduction outside of heteronormative frames of utility.

By becoming pregnant, teenage women lose their point: their swollen, leaky, uncontrolled bodies are literally warped out of shape. No longer oriented toward happy futures, they fail to point anywhere at all; they drop out of intelligible time and their lives come to a metaphorical stop. Their future is ‘post’ and, as Freeman might put it, their history has already been predetermined and written on their bodies for all to see.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, their children – who would be worth so much to the future if born to the properly sequenced white, middle class, heteronormative subject – are considered useless as well, pathologized as a kind of self-replicating social cancer. The children of “Teen Moms” are not ‘the future,’ or at least not the future of phallicized whiteness.

Not following the straight path, teenage mothers are, in fact, not straight. Pregnant and mothering teens often embody already queered raced and classed identities. Moreover, they engage in queer sexual practices – fulfilling sexual desires constructed as useless and even dangerous by the dominant social order. Their non-useful desires become visibly aberrant reproduction, which, rather than securing reproductive futures, is cast as recycling social dysfunction. Similar to non-reproductive queers, teenage mothers become unhappy objects – sometimes unhappy themselves, always the object of others’ unhappiness – subject to figurative dismemberment, dehumanization and social death.

I suggest that, in regard to teenage pregnancy, embracing the ‘death drive’ of queer positionality might in fact require embracing reproduction as a potential expression

of queer desire. My hope is that making visible the queerness of teenage pregnancy will invite a new perspective on resistance to the abjection of teenage mothers. Rather than rejecting reproduction, can we reject the coupling of reproduction with the procreative impulse of phallicized whiteness? Can we instead center teenage sexual desire and pleasure, and conceive of teenage pregnancy as an expression of desire? Can we value teenage motherhood as well as teenage pregnancy avoidance or termination as equally valid expressions of that desire? What scholarship and activism might then be possible? What kinds of praxis might then challenge the abjection of teenage mothers without reifying heteronormative tropes of motherhood and without taking at face value the undesirability of teenage childbearing?

¹ *If Truth Be Told: 2006-2011: A 5-Year Progress Report on Ending Milwaukee's Teen Pregnancy Crisis* (Milwaukee: United Way of Greater Milwaukee, 2011).

² Serve Marketing, "Have a Baby Too Young and It'll Control Your Life," accessed March 25, 2015, <http://tinyw.in/fmj6>.

³ "Teen Pregnancy Prevention," *United Way of Greater Milwaukee & Waukesha County*, accessed May 12, 2015, <http://tinyw.in/ZZjv>; "United Way of Greater Milwaukee's Teen Pregnancy Prevention Initiative: A Logic Model for Reducing Births to Teens" (United Way of Greater Milwaukee, n.d.), <http://tinyw.in/j1za>.

⁴ "Preventing Teen Pregnancies," Radio, *Ideas Network* (Wisconsin Public Radio, October 30, 2013), <http://tinyw.in/192Z>.

⁵ *If Truth Be Told: Update*.

⁶ "Milwaukee Reports Big Decrease in Teen Pregnancies," Radio, *Lake Effect* (Wisconsin Public Radio, October 24, 2013), <http://tinyw.in/JXMD>.

⁷ Brady E. Hamilton and Stephanie J. Ventura, *Birth Rates for US Teenagers Reach Historic Lows for All Age and Ethnic Groups*, NCHS Data Brief (Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics, 2012), <http://tinyw.in/Xm5K>.

⁸ Centers for Disease Control, "About Teen Pregnancy," *Cdc.gov*, June 9, 2014, <http://tinyw.in/30Ql>; Saul D. Hoffman and Rebecca A. Maynard, eds., *Kids Having Kids: Economic Costs & Social Consequences of Teen Pregnancy*, 2nd ed (Washington, D.C: Urban Institute Press, 2008).

⁹ Nancy Lesko, *Act Your Age!: A Cultural Construction of Adolescence*, Critical Social Thought (New York: Routledge/Falmer, 2001); Catriona Macleod, *Adolescence, Pregnancy and Abortion: Constructing a Threat of Degeneration* (London; New York: Routledge, 2011); Alesha E. Doan and Jean Calterone Williams, *The Politics of Virginity: Abstinence in Sex Education* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2008); Constance A. Nathanson, *Dangerous Passage: The Social Control of Sexuality in Women's Adolescence*, Health, Society, and Policy (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1991); Anna Marie Smith, *Welfare Reform and Sexual Regulation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹⁰ Lee Smith Battle and Victoria Wynn Leonard, "Teen Mothers and Their Teenaged Children: The Reciprocity of Developmental Trajectories," *ANS. Advances in Nursing Science* 29, no. 4 (December 2006): 351–65; Lee Smith Battle, "Legacies of Advantage and Disadvantage: The Case of Teen Mothers," *Public Health Nursing* 24, no. 5 (2007): 409–20; Arline T. Geronimus, "The Socioeconomic Costs of Teenage Childbearing: Evidence and Interpretation," *Demography* 30, no. 2 (May 1, 1993): 281; Arline T. Geronimus, "Teenage Childbearing and Social and Reproductive Disadvantage: The

Evolution of Complex Questions and the Demise of Simple Answers,” *Family Relations* 40, no. 4 (October 1, 1991): 463–71, doi:10.2307/584905; Elaine Bell Kaplan and Arlie Russell Hochschild, *Not Our Kind of Girl: Unravelling the Myths of Black Teenage Motherhood* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Aline Gubrium, “Making Statistics Lie: Interrogating Teenage Motherhood in a Rural African-American Community,” *Journal of the Motherhood Initiative for Research and Community Involvement* 9, no. 1 (2007); Dohoon Lee, “The Early Socioeconomic Effects of Teenage Childbearing: A Propensity Score Matching Approach,” *Demographic Research* 23 (October 5, 2010): 25; Maggie Kirkman et al., “‘I Know I’m Doing a Good Job’: Canonical and Autobiographical Narratives of Teenage Mothers,” *Culture, Health & Sexuality* 3, no. 3 (July 1, 2001): 279–94, doi:10.2307/4005274; Elizabeth McDermott and Hilary Graham, “Resilient Young Mothering: Social Inequalities, Late Modernity and the ‘problem’ of ‘teenage’ Motherhood,” *Journal of Youth Studies* 8, no. 1 (March 2005): 59–79, doi:10.1080/13676260500063702; C. J. Seamark and P. Lings, “Positive Experiences of Teenage Motherhood: A Qualitative Study,” *The British Journal of General Practice* 54, no. 508 (2004): 813; Christie A. Barcelos and Aline C. Gubrium, “Reproducing Stories: Strategic Narratives of Teen Pregnancy and Motherhood,” *Social Problems* 61, no. 3 (2014): 466–81; Aline C. Gubrium, Elizabeth L. Krause, and Kasey Jernigan, “Strategic Authenticity and Voice: New Ways of Seeing and Being Seen as Young Mothers Through Digital Storytelling,” *Sexuality Research and Social Policy* 11, no. 4 (2014): 337–47; Jenna Elizabeth Vinson, “Teenage Mothers as Rhetors and Rhetoric: An Analysis of Embodied Exigence and Constrained Agency” (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Arizona, 2013), <http://tinyw.in/EFjw>.

¹¹ Christie A. Barcelos, “Producing (potentially) Pregnant Teen Bodies: Biopower and Adolescent Pregnancy in the USA,” *Critical Public Health*, October 31, 2013, 11, doi:10.1080/09581596.2013.853869.

¹² Barcelos, “Producing (potentially) Pregnant Teen Bodies”; Nancy Kendall, *The Sex Education Debates* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); Sinikka Elliott, “‘Who’s to Blame?’ Constructing the Responsible Sexual Agent in Neoliberal Sex Education,” *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, May 10, 2014, 1–14, doi:10.1007/s13178-014-0158-5; Lorena Garcia, *Respect Yourself, Protect Yourself: Latina Girls and Sexual Identity* (New York: NYU Press, 2012).

¹³ Kendall, *The Sex Education Debates*; Elliott, “‘Who’s to Blame?’”; Garcia, *Respect Yourself, Protect Yourself*.

¹⁴ Shannon Winnubst, *Queering Freedom* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006).

¹⁵ I bracket controversy over whether being a teenage mother is difficult or leads to limited life choices. Utilizing a disability studies perspective, my guiding assumption is that negative consequences of teenage childbearing arise from the “built environment” of

social and material abjection and dispossession of mothering teens, rather than any characteristic inherent to teenage mothers.

¹⁶ *If Truth Be Told: Teen Pregnancy, Public Health and the Cycle of Poverty* (Milwaukee: United Way of Greater Milwaukee, 2006), <http://tinyw.in/Q94G>.

¹⁷ See Leah Platt Boustan, “Was Postwar Suburbanization ‘White Flight’? Evidence from the Black Migration,” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* Feb. (2010): 417–43; “City of Milwaukee 2010 Census Black Population (%) by Voting Ward” (City of Milwaukee legislative reference bureau), accessed April 30, 2015, <http://tinyw.in/T065>.

¹⁸ U.S. Census Bureau, “Milwaukee City, Wisconsin Population Estimates (2010),” accessed May 2, 2015, <http://tinyw.in/mqX2>.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*; *Poverty in Milwaukee 2012* (Social Development Commission, n.d.).

²⁰ Kenya Downs, “Why Is Milwaukee So Bad For Black People?,” *NPR.org*, March 5, 2015, <http://tinyw.in/WDJi>; Danielle C. Belton, “The 5 Worst States for Black People,” *The Root*, November 6, 2014, <http://tinyw.in/7sHg>.

²¹ Karen Herzog, “Milwaukee’s Teen Pregnancy Program Honored,” *Journal Sentinel*, May 3, 2012, online edition, <http://tinyw.in/IvDD>.

²² The Milwaukee initiative has overseen related media campaigns regarding statutory rape as well as teenage condom use for STI prevention. Due to the limitations of my project, I focus only on the PSAs and other media projects aimed solely at teenage pregnancy prevention.

²³ *If Truth Be Told: Update*.

²⁴ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley, Reissue edition (New York: Vintage, 1990).

²⁵ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*, Updated ed (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2008), 83.

²⁶ See Barcelos, “Producing (potentially) Pregnant Teen Bodies.”

²⁷ Nathanson, *Dangerous Passage*.

²⁸ Rickie Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie: Single Pregnancy and Race Before Roe v. Wade*, 2 edition (New York: Routledge, 2000).

²⁹ Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*, 2011, makes clear that incarceration of men (and increasingly women) of

color is one response to this dilemma; another is disinvestment in social welfare. I argue that the development of teenage pregnancy prevention is another.

³⁰ Roderick A. Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black: Toward a Queer of Color Critique* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota Press, 2004), 3. Commenting on; Chandan Reddy, "Home, Houses, Nonidentity: Paris Is Burning," in *Burning down the House: Recycling Domesticity*, ed. Rosemary Marangoly George (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998).

³¹ Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black*, 4. Feminists of color including Patricia Hill Collins, Audre Lorde, The Combahee River Collective, and Gloria Anzaldua have a legacy of doing this type of sophisticated analysis.

³² Winnubst, *Queering Freedom*, 16.

³³ Winnubst, *Queering Freedom*.

³⁴ Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black*, 3.

³⁵ See Jenna Vinson, "Covering National Concerns about Teenage Pregnancy: A Visual Rhetorical Analysis of Images of Pregnant and Mothering Women," *Feminist Formations* 24, no. 2 (2012): 140–62; Ruby C. Tapia, "Impregnating Images: Visions of Race, Sex and Consumer-Citizenship in California's Teen Pregnancy Prevention Campaigns," *Feminist Media Studies* 5, no. 1 (2005): 7–22, doi:10.1080/14680770500058132.

³⁶ Rachel Carroll, *Rereading Heterosexuality: Feminism, Queer Theory and Contemporary Fiction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 6.

³⁷ Carroll, *Rereading Heterosexuality*.

³⁸ Stevi Jackson, "Gender, Sexuality and Heterosexuality The Complexity (and Limits) of Heteronormativity," *Feminist Theory* 7, no. 1 (April 1, 2006): 105–21, doi:10.1177/1464700106061462; Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner, "Sex in Public," *Critical Inquiry* 24, no. 2 (January 1, 1998): 547–66.

³⁹ Carroll, *Rereading Heterosexuality*, 8; Cathy J. Cohen, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens: The Radical Potential of Queer Politics," *GLQ* 3 (1997): 437–65; Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black*.

⁴⁰ Cohen, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens," 457.

⁴¹ Carroll, *Rereading Heterosexuality*, 11.

⁴² "United Way of Greater Milwaukee's Teen Pregnancy Prevention Initiative: A Logic Model for Reducing Births to Teens."

⁴³ Deborah Lupton, *The Imperative of Health: Public Health and the Regulated Body* (London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1995).

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Deborah Lupton, *Revolting Bodies: The Pedagogy of Disgust in Public Health Campaigns*, Working Paper (The Sydney Health & Society Group, May 26, 2013), <http://tinyw.in/LSLn>.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁷ Disgust reactions to teenage pregnancy and motherhood are enhanced by sexual and reproductive connections to bodily fluids and the failure of rational control over the body implicit in the pregnant state.

⁴⁸ The use of shame and stigma in teenage pregnancy prevention in Milwaukee and other cities has both come under fire and been hailed as justifiable in recent media. For example, see: “Teen Pregnancy Ads: Shame Campaign?,” *Tell Me More* (National Public Radio, March 20, 2013), <http://tinyw.in/IdUC>; Gloria Malone, “Shame From All Angles: Why Doesn’t Anyone Seem to Respect Teen Parents?,” *RH Reality Check*, November 22, 2013, <http://tinyw.in/fyIW>; Emily Shire, “The Facts about Teen Pregnancy Should Scare, Not Shame | Emily Shire,” *The Guardian*, March 30, 2013, <http://tinyw.in/yd8s>; Aline Gubrium and Elizabeth L. Krause, “Teen Pregnancy Prevention Campaign Is Misguided, Cruel,” *Newspaper, JSonline.com*, (January 22, 2015), <http://tinyw.in/kfug>; Verónica Bayetti Flores, “Will the “Teen Mom” Shaming Ever Stop?,” *Feministing*, accessed April 12, 2015, <http://tinyw.in/h8tu>.

⁴⁹ Emphasis in original WE Douglas Creed et al., “Swimming in a Sea of Shame: Incorporating Emotion into Explanations of Institutional Reproduction and Change,” *Academy of Management Review* 39, no. 3 (2014): 4.

⁵⁰ “Pregnant Boys in Milwaukee,” *The Inspiration Room*, accessed March 10, 2015, <http://tinyw.in/1lPy>.

⁵¹ The initiative has mailed similar messages to Milwaukee households. In one, fake birth announcements, stated, “you’re a proud parent of another baby born to a teenage girl in Milwaukee. Not because you’ve adopted him, but because you are paying his child support out of your tax dollars.” In another, a fake ninety-two thousand dollar tax bill for the cost of babies born to teenage mothers was distributed.

⁵² Barcelos, “Producing (potentially) Pregnant Teen Bodies.”

⁵³ Imogen Tyler, *Revolting Subjects: Social Abjection and Resistance in Neoliberal Britain*, 2013.

⁵⁴ Imogen Tyler, ““Chav Mum Chav Scum,”” *Feminist Media Studies* 8, no. 1 (March 1, 2008): 17–34, doi:10.1080/14680770701824779.

⁵⁵ Paula Ioanide, “The Story of Abner Louima: Cultural Fantasies, Gendered Racial Violence, and the Ethical Witness,” *Journal of Haitian Studies* 13, no. 1 (April 1, 2007): 7–8.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵⁷ Em McAvan, “Rhetorics of Disgust and Indeterminacy in Transphobic Acts of Violence,” in *Homofiles: Theory, Sexuality, and Graduate Studies*, ed. Jes Battis (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2011), 23–34.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁵⁹ Cohen, “Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens”; Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2009); Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie*.

⁶⁰ According to Winnubst “the zero-sum game appears to be the only playing ground of advanced capitalist cultures of phallicized whiteness.” Winnubst, *Queering Freedom*, 55.

⁶¹ Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*; Elena R. Gutiérrez, *Fertile Matters: The Politics of Mexican-Origin Women’s Reproduction* (University of Texas Press, 2008); Grace Chang, *Disposable Domestic: Immigrant Women Workers in the Global Economy* (Cambridge, Mass: South End Press, 2000).

⁶² Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*; Gutiérrez, *Fertile Matters*; Chang, *Disposable Domestic*.

⁶³ This PSA cluster exemplifies a frequent use of the multicultural trio – Black, Latino, white – in Milwaukee PSAs, a “color-blind” representation of the “problem” that nonetheless racializes through context.

⁶⁴ Emphasis in original, *If Truth Be Told*, prepaginated page 1.

⁶⁵ Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*: (Washington, DC: United States Dept. of Labor Office of Policy Planning and Research, 1965).

⁶⁶ Tapia, “Impregnating Images”; Vinson, “Covering National Concerns about Teenage Pregnancy.”

⁶⁷ Centers for Disease Control, “About Teen Pregnancy”; Office of Adolescent Health, “Trends in Teen Pregnancy and Childbearing,” *Office of Adolescent Health*, February 25,

2015, <http://tinyw.in/j2T3>; *Fast Facts: Teen Pregnancy in the United States* (Washington, D.C: The National Campaign to Prevent Teen and Unplanned Pregnancy, 2014), <http://tinyw.in/nz07>.

⁶⁸ *If Truth Be Told*, 12.

⁶⁹ Jesse Garza, “Teen Birthrate in Milwaukee Drops for 7th Consecutive Year,” *Journal Sentinel*, October 29, 2014, online edition, <http://tinyw.in/1LAq>.

⁷⁰ Wisconsin Department of Health Services, “Births to Teens in Wisconsin, 2013,” *Dhs.wisconsin.gov*, March 10, 2015, <http://tinyw.in/hWb5>.

⁷¹ *If Truth Be Told*, 18.

⁷² Emphasis mine, *ibid.*, 18–19.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 19; Note, according to the “ITBT” report, the “listening sessions” at which this comment was made were attended by predominantly African American teenagers. See: *Ibid.*, 8.

⁷⁴ *If Truth Be Told*, 5.

⁷⁵ Laura Briggs, *Somebody’s Children: The Politics of Transracial and Transnational Adoption* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2012); Jael Silliman et al., *Undivided Rights: Women of Color Organizing for Reproductive Justice*, First Edition (South End Press, 2004); Gutiérrez, *Fertile Matters*; Dorothy Roberts, *Killing the Black Body: Race, Reproduction, and the Meaning of Liberty* (New York: Vintage, 1998); Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*.

⁷⁶ Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 140.

⁷⁷ Serve Marketing, “Fake Ringtone Campaign Punks Teens Again in Milwaukee,” accessed March 1, 2015, <http://tinyw.in/3CTs>.

⁷⁸ “Maxxxy Mum | BandPage,” *Facebook*, accessed March 23, 2015, <http://tinyw.in/EUaH>.

⁷⁹ Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 92.

⁸⁰ Jackson, “Gender, Sexuality and Heterosexuality.”

⁸¹ Cohen, “Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens.”

⁸² Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black*, 87.

⁸³ Winnubst, *Queering Freedom*, 127.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 128.

⁸⁵ “Big Decrease”; “Preventing Teen Pregnancies”; *If Truth Be Told: Update*.

⁸⁶ *If Truth Be Told: Update*.

⁸⁷ Karen Herzog, “Milwaukee Teen Birthrate Drops 50% in 7 Years,” October 23, 2013, <http://tinyw.in/RfqR>.

⁸⁸ Emphasis mine Tyler, *Revolting Subjects*, 10.

⁸⁹ Karen Herzog, “Teen Pregnancy Program Honored | Shock Advertising Seen as Effective,” *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel (WI)*, May 4, 2012, Final edition.

⁹⁰ “Preventing Teen Pregnancies”; *If Truth Be Told*; *If Truth Be Told: Update*.

⁹¹ Lupton, *Revolting Bodies*, 9.

⁹² I’m thinking here about the sexual and reproductive violence of slavery, medical experimentation, and forced sterilization. See Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Roberts, *Killing the Black Body*; Harriet A. Washington, *Medical Apartheid: The Dark History of Medical Experimentation on Black Americans from Colonial Times to the Present*, Reprint edition (New York: Anchor, 2008); Gutiérrez, *Fertile Matters*.

⁹³ Serve Marketing, “Fake Ringtone Campaign Punks Teens Again in Milwaukee.”

⁹⁴ “17,000 Teens Get Punk’d Calling for Summer Jobs. Hear Teen Pregnancy Message Instead,” accessed March 8, 2015, <http://tinyw.in/ztXM>.

⁹⁵ Emphasis mine “Fake Cards Punk Teen on Valentines Day,” accessed March 8, 2015, <http://tinyw.in/CeXd>.

⁹⁶ Emphasis in original, bold type in red, Serve Marketing, *Baby, You’re the One Valentines Card*, Digital image, 2013.

⁹⁷ The Milwaukee PSAs display a shocking degree of hatred toward teenage men as well as children. The negative portrayal of parenthood and children is an important aspect of these campaigns that I am unable to address here due to the limitations of this project.

⁹⁸ Emphasis mine “Fake Movie, 2028, Punks Teens with Powerful Message,” accessed March 7, 2015, <http://tinyw.in/MdCh>.

⁹⁹ Benjamin Valentino, Paul Huth, and Dylan Balch-Lindsay, “‘Draining the Sea’: Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare,” *International Organization* 58, no. 02 (April 2004), doi:10.1017/S0020818304582061; Martin Ottmann, “Rebel Constituencies and Rebel Violence against Civilians in Civil Conflicts,” *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, March 10, 2015, 0738894215570428, doi:10.1177/0738894215570428.

¹⁰⁰ “Guerrilla Marketing,” accessed April 15, 2015, <http://tinyw.in/oWVu>.

¹⁰¹ James Robertson, “A Punk’s Song About Prison Reform,” *Pace Law Review* 527 (2004): 527; Debby A. Phillips, “Punking and Bullying Strategies in Middle School, High School, and beyond,” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 22, no. 2 (February 1, 2007): 158–78, doi:10.1177/0886260506295341.

¹⁰² Winnubst, *Queering Freedom*.

¹⁰³ See: Jeffrey Weeks, *Sexuality and Its Discontents: Meanings, Myths, and Modern Sexualities* (Routledge, 2002); Alice M. Miller, “Sexual but Not Reproductive: Exploring the Junction and Disjunction of Sexual and Reproductive Rights,” *Health and Human Rights* 4, no. 2 (January 1, 2000): 68–109, doi:10.2307/4065197; Gayle Rubin, “Thinking Sex: Notes for a Radical Theory of the Politics of Sexuality,” in *Pleasure and Danger: Exploring Female Sexuality*, ed. Carole S. Vance (London : New York: Pandora Press, 1993), 267.

¹⁰⁴ Winnubst, *Queering Freedom*, 130.

¹⁰⁵ First among these advantages is greater access to contraception and abortion, making motherhood more of a choice, but they can also access white and middle class privilege to employ mothering technologies (consumerism, professionalism) that mitigate their abject status as teenage mothers.

¹⁰⁶ Serve Marketing, “Have a Baby Too Young and It’ll Control Your Life.”

¹⁰⁷ The command to “wait,” in this context, means to wait to become a parent. However, this is synonymous with waiting to have sex because teenage pregnancy discourses widely conflate sexual activity with assured pregnancy, as well as pregnancy with assured motherhood. Teenage sex that does not result in pregnancy is made invisible, as are teenage pregnancies that end in miscarriage or termination (15% and 30% respectively in 2010). Office of Adolescent Health, “Trends in Teen Pregnancy and Childbearing” ; Barcelos, “Producing (potentially) Pregnant Teen Bodies”; Elliott, “‘Who’s to Blame?’.”

¹⁰⁸ One frequently cited source in prevention rhetoric is, Hoffman and Maynard, *Kids Having Kids*.

¹⁰⁹ Statutory rape is also frequently associated with teenage pregnancy. See Carolyn E. Cocca, “From ‘Welfare Queen’ to ‘Exploited Teen’: Welfare Dependency, Statutory Rape, and Moral Panic,” *NWSA Journal* 14, no. 2 (2002): 56–79.

¹¹⁰ Paula Ioanide, *The Emotional Politics of Racism: How Feelings Trump Facts in an Era of Colorblindness* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2015).

¹¹¹ Emphasis mine, “Preventing Teen Pregnancies.”

¹¹² This exemplifies what Ioanide, *The Emotional Politics of Racism* calls a “historical inversion.” Panic over “complacency” masks the proliferation of rhetoric that has increasingly promoted the stigmatization and abjection of teenage motherhood.

¹¹³ For more on this history see Winnubst, *Queering Freedom*. According to Winnubst white time “carves power into our bodies and into the world, telling us where we came from and where we are placed in this world and its social map of power,” Winnubst argues that dominant temporality is a “regulative ideal of whiteness,” one that has historically colonized the world through imperialism and globalizing capital.

¹¹⁴ Elizabeth Freeman, *Time Binds: Queer Temporalities, Queer Histories* (Durham [NC]: Duke University Press, 2010), 3.

¹¹⁵ Winnubst, *Queering Freedom*.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Emphasis in original, *Kiss*, 2009, <http://tinyw.in/LkAk>.

¹¹⁸ Dana Luciano, *Arranging Grief: Sacred Time and the Body in Nineteenth-Century America* (NYU Press, 2007).

¹¹⁹ Freeman, *Time Binds*, 4.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ “Preventing Teen Pregnancies.”

¹²² See Garcia, *Respect Yourself, Protect Yourself* for examples of how this sequence is integral to the sexual subjectivity of the Latina teens she interviewed.

¹²³ C. Dinshaw et al., “Theorizing Queer Temporalities: A Roundtable Discussion,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 13, no. 2–3 (January 1, 2007): 190, doi:10.1215/10642684-2006-030.

¹²⁴ Notably: Lee Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2004); Judith Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives* (New York: New York University Press, 2005); Winnubst, *Queering Freedom*; José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York: New York University Press, 2009); Freeman, *Time Binds*.

¹²⁵ Lee Edelman, “The Future Is Kid Stuff: Queer Theory, Disidentification, and the Death Drive,” *Narrative* 6, no. 1 (January 1, 1998): 21.

¹²⁶ Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia*, 22.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 49.

¹²⁸ Halberstam, *In a Queer Time and Place*, 1.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹³⁰ This includes both queer subjects who are non-reproductive by choice and marginalized reproductive subjectivities. See: Laury Oaks, *Giving Up Baby: Safe Haven Laws, Motherhood, and Reproductive Justice* (New York: NYU Press, 2015); Briggs, *Somebody’s Children*; Gutiérrez, *Fertile Matters*; Roberts, *Killing the Black Body*.

¹³¹ See: Roberts, *Killing the Black Body*; Gutiérrez, *Fertile Matters*; Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005).

¹³² Juana María Rodríguez, “Queer Sociality and Other Sexual Fantasies,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 17, no. 2 (2011): 333.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ See: Cohen, “Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens”; Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*; Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (Crossing Press, 2007).

¹³⁵ Cohen, “Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens.”

¹³⁶ *If Truth Be Told*.

¹³⁷ Lauren Berlant, “The Subject of True Feeling: Pain, Privacy, and Politics,” in *Transformations: Thinking Through Feminism*, ed. Sarah Ahmed et al., 1 edition (London ; New York: Routledge, 2000), 127–8.

¹³⁸ “2028 the Movie - It Finally Ends,” accessed April 15, 2015, <http://tinyw.in/omZI>.

¹³⁹ Sara Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness* (Durham [NC]: Duke University Press, 2010).

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 91.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 11.

¹⁴² Susan J. Douglas and Meredith W. Michaels, *The Mommy Myth: The Idealization of Motherhood and How It Has Undermined Women* (New York: Free Press, 2004).

¹⁴³ Ironically, once past the danger zone for ‘teenage pregnancy,’ women are expected to forget this framing of infants as life draining, always screaming barriers to happiness.

¹⁴⁴ *If Truth Be Told*.

¹⁴⁵ Freeman, *Time Binds*.